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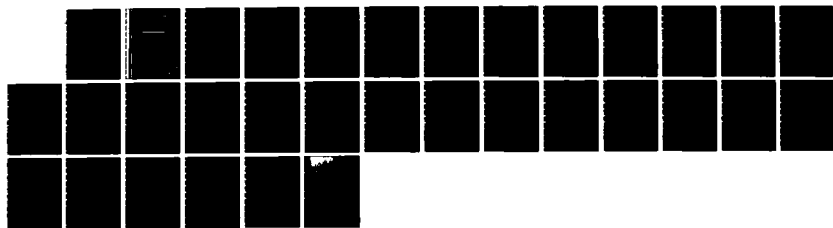
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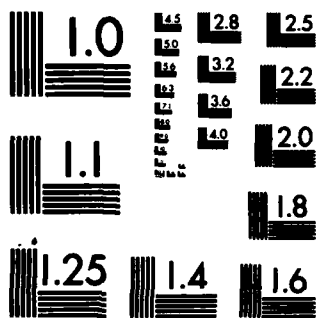
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PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY

AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECTIVE CULTURE OF
HISPANIC HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Harry C. Triandis
Marcelo Villareal
Luiz Natalicio

Technical Report No. OKR-29

March, 1984

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
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URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS 61820

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Abstract

Samples of Hispanic and Mainstream male and female high school students answered an instrument that contained items that had previously distinguished Hispanic and Mainstream Navy recruits. The 'simpatia' cultural script and the high level of power distance previously found among Hispanic recruits were again identified in the high school samples. However, on certain variables the high school students differed from the Navy recruits. For example, the Hispanic students were higher in external control of reinforcement than the recruits. Discussion explores which aspects of previous findings are replicated, which may have to be modified, and what may these findings imply about the way the Navy selects Hispanics.

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Some Aspects of the Subjective Culture of Hispanic High School Students

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and

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at El Paso

A series of studies has explored the subjective culture (Triandis, 1972) of Hispanic Navy recruits. By subjective culture is meant a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving the social environment.

One of the major themes found among Hispanic recruits, which contrasted their perceptions with those of Mainstream recruits, is that they are allocentric. That is, they are more concerned with the views, values, and goals of other people, particularly their own family, than is the case with Mainstream U.S. recruits. Allocentrism is an aspect of a broader syndrome of attributes: collectivism vs. individualism (Triandis, 1983). There are several kinds of collectivism. Collectivists are sensitive to the views of parents, relatives, their nuclear family, their extended family, their spouses, children, friends, neighbors, tribe, co-workers, fellow villagers, fellow townspeople, fellow citizens and so on. Each of these ingroups may have its own norms. The Hispanic form of collectivism is mostly centered around the extended family.

In the studies mentioned above it was found that Hispanic recruits experience an exceptionally strong pull toward their families (Triandis, Marín, Hui, Lisansky and Ottati, 1982), which extends even to third degree relatives. Thus, for instance, Triandis, Marín, Betancourt, Lisansky and Chang (1982) found that Hispanic recruits were willing to sacrifice themselves (e.g., sell their TV) in order to attend family celebrations involving second and third degree relatives.

Collectivists value interpersonal relations more than other kinds of

achievements. Smoothness in interpersonal relations is greatly valued. Thus, the values they emphasize more than other values are being sensitive, loyal, respected, dutiful, gracious, and conforming (Triandis, Kashima, Lisansky & Marín, 1982). Cooperation is also greatly valued (Ross, Triandis, Chang & Marín, 1982) as is avoidance of interpersonal competition (Triandis, Ottati & Marín, 1982). To function smoothly it helps to emit many positive behaviors and to avoid emitting negative behaviors. Consistent with this view Triandis, Marin and Lisansky (in press) found that Hispanic recruits anticipated that positive behaviors will occur more frequently and negative behaviors will occur less frequently than did Mainstream recruits. This constituted a cultural pattern, which was called simpatía.

The tendency toward collectivism can be viewed as a broad syndrome that includes familism, the simpatía script, sensitivity to others, and expectations about good relationships, cooperation, and no competition. In the case of Hispanics this tendency diminishes with acculturation (Triandis, Marín, Betancourt & Chang, 1982) in the U.S. Acculturation has the effect of weakening the simpatía script, but it does not eliminate it (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada & Villareal, 1983).

Mainstream recruits tend to emphasize (a) more individualistic themes, such as being honest and moderate (Triandis, Kashima, Lisansky & Marín, 1982) and (b) have little trouble distinguishing a person from his role, while Hispanics perceive an overlap between person and role (Rojas, 1982). Both the individualist emphasis on honesty and the person-role merging among collectivists have been identified previously in reviews of the literature on collectivism-individualism (Triandis, 1985).

In addition to recruits, other samples, such as young Hispanic high school students (Triandis, 1981) and applicants visiting Navy recruiting stations

(Rojas, 1981) have been found to emphasize the centrality of their family in decision-making. Lisansky's (1981) review of the literature on Hispanics found familism to be one of the few attributes of Hispanics on which there was wide agreement among those who have studied Hispanics.

Hispanics see more Power Distance within their ingroup. That is, high status persons are expected to command, criticize, and give orders, and low status persons are expected to obey. Both of these findings are consistent with Hofstede's (1980) results which showed that Latin Americans were collectivistic and North Americans individualistic; and Latin Americans are high in Power Distance, while North Americans moderately low in Power Distance.

In the above mentioned studies with Navy recruits the Hispanic responses were compared with the responses of the Mainstream--all others. Thus, the Mainstream included a very heterogeneous set of people--blacks and whites, and even Hispanics who did not declare themselves as Hispanic. Many highly acculturated Hispanics avoid emphasizing their Hispanic background (Rojas, 1983). Thus, it is only in the case of attributes where the Hispanics were truly very different from the Mainstream that these studies could identify differences. This was intentionally done to avoid reporting differences that are too minor to be of practical significance.

In studies that compared those results to national samples of Hispanics some of the results were replicated. For instance, the studies with recruits found no differences on external-internal control (Rotter, 1966) between the Hispanic and Mainstream recruits. Analyzing data from the National Longitudinal Survey, which does have responses to internal-external control items, Triandis and Hui (1982) again found no difference on this variable for Hispanics and Mainstream subjects in that national sample. However, most national samples do not include questions that tap the allocentric or Power Distance tendencies

identified in the studies with recruits. Thus, it is useful to compare the recruit data to other kinds of samples, such as high school students, to see if the differences in subjective culture identified in the studies of recruits can be generalized to Hispanic culture in the U.S.

The present report concerns a study of high school students from El Paso, Texas. This is an especially desirable location for such a study, since El Paso has a substantial Hispanic population, many of whom came to the U.S. recently. When it was first designed, the present study was going to include all items that had proven significantly different in the studies with the recruits. However, since the eight "batches" of the original questionnaires administered to the recruits required about 16 hours of subject time, and since after protracted negotiations with the El Paso Independent School District (EPISD) we were able to obtain permission for the administration of questionnaires taking no more than 45 minutes, we had to limit rather drastically the extent to which we could replicate the previous findings. We selected items that were of special interest. In addition to items that had given us significant differences in the studies with the recruits we included some items where no differences had been found, though that specific finding was inconsistent with previous reports in the literature. We wanted to confirm either the recruit studies or the previous literature. Thus, a sample of items that is extremely selected from our Navy recruit studies was included in this study.

The data to be reported can be examined from the following points of view: First, we can ask if men and women (the recruit studies were limited to men) give similar responses to the various questions. Second, we can ask if Hispanic and Mainstream students give similar responses. Third, we can compare the student responses with the responses of the recruits.

If the students and the recruits are similar, that confirms the generality of our previous findings; if they are different it may indicate something

interesting about the way the Navy is selecting Hispanic recruits. Thus, the main focus of the present paper is on the similarities and differences of the results obtained from the recruit and student studies, but we will also report whatever else we found concerning Hispanic/Mainstream and men/women high school student comparisons.

Method

Subjects

In the case of the high school subjects the design called for collection of responses from 200 subjects: 50 males and 50 females of each of the two groups, i.e. Hispanics and Mainstream. Subjects were drawn from each of the eight high schools of the EPISD. In each school, the Student Association provided volunteers to participate in the study. These organizations made sure that some of their members came at the appropriate times to school rooms where the questionnaires were administered under the supervision of the third author and with the assistance of the Faculty Advisor to the Student Association of each of the high schools, respectively. The Student Association of each school received five dollars (\$5) for each subject who provided complete data. These procedures resulted in 50 Hispanics whose surname was Spanish, and about 50 Mainstream students of each sex responding to the questionnaire. In some cases the responses were incomplete, and this fact was taken into account in the relevant analyses. Thus, the Ns for given items are sometimes smaller, and are reported in the results section, as appropriate. The age of most subjects was between 16 and 18.

In the case of the recruits, eight recruit samples were administered eight batches of questionnaires, during 1981-82. Each batch consisted of approximately 50 Hispanics whose surname was Spanish and who had identified themselves as Hispanic in a form regularly used by the Navy. Thus, we used two criteria for the identification of the Hispanics while they were being classified into Navy jobs.

Specifically, in each of three Navy recruiting stations (Florida, California, and Illinois) when a Spanish surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form on which "Hispanic" was one of the ways the recruit could describe himself. If the Spanish surnamed recruit had selected this label he was asked to complete the questionnaire. Those other recruits are referred to here as "Mainstream". This sample was intentionally heterogeneous, and included Blacks as well as Hispanics who did not identify themselves as Hispanic.

This procedure was chosen to ensure that only substantial differences would be identified. Previous work, on similar subjective culture variables (Triandis, 1976), has shown that there is much similarity between blacks and whites, and in all probability highly acculturated Hispanics would also be similar to blacks and whites on those variables.

There were essentially no differences between the high school and recruit samples. The only difference that reached statistical significance indicated that the Hispanic high school males differed from the other three high school samples on their perceived socio-economic level (SES). In no case did the differences among the various samples account for more than 10 percent of the variance of the SES scores.

Instrument

The instrument used with the El Paso high school student sample consisted of two parts. Both were answered anonymously. Part one obtained information about sex, age, number of years in the U.S., and ethnic background, whether the subject had lived abroad, the ethnic background of the subject's closest friends, the ethnic background of five ideal co-workers, the education of the subject's parents, the kinds of movies (Spanish, English, in various combinations)

preferred by the subject, the approximate family income, the perceived economic status of the family (poor, low average, high average, relatively well off), the father's occupation, and the mother's occupation. From these data, based on previous analyses (Triandis, Hui, Lisansky & Marín, 1982), we extracted indices of acculturation and social class.

The second part of the instrument included items concerning ideal jobs, the Hofstede (1980) items measuring individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance, items concerning the subject's self-concept and values, measures of internal-external control, items from Helmreich and Spence (1978) work and Family Orientation Questionnaire, and role perceptions concerning the roles mother-son, brother-brother, father-son, friend-friend, foreman-worker and worker-foreman. Details of these instruments can be seen in the above mentioned studies by Triandis and associates.

Two forms of this instrument were used, both in English. The forms included all the items, but the order of the items in the second form was counter-balanced relative to the first form.

Results

Hispanic vs. Mainstream High School Students

The Simpatía Script

Simpatía was identified by Triandis, Marín and Lisansky (in press) as a Hispanic cultural script; a cultural script was defined as a pattern of social interaction which is characteristic of a particular cultural group. An individual who is simpático is likeable, attractive, fun-to-be-with, and easy-going, shows some conformity, and ability to share another's feelings, behaves with dignity and respect toward others and strives for harmony in interpersonal relations. The latter attribute leads to the operationalization of the script as Hispanics' emphasizing positive behaviors and de-emphasizing

negative behaviors. Relative emphasis is measured by comparing the Hispanic mean to the mean of the Mainstream. The conjunction of emphasis on positive and de-emphasis on negative behaviors, is operationalized as the simpatía script. Triandis, Kashima, Shimada and Villareal (1983) showed that the more acculturated the Hispanics, the weaker is the script, but it does not disappear even among the most acculturated samples of Hispanics. We can ask, then, if the high school data also show the simpatía script.

To do this we identified behaviors that are positive (e.g. love, reveal intimate thoughts, respects) and negative (e.g. fights, disciplines, argues with, threatens) and examined the means of the Hispanic and the Mainstream high school student samples. The simpatía script requires that these means show the Hispanics to be higher than the Mainstream on the positive and the Mainstream to be higher than the Hispanics on the negative items. Since we had six roles and five positive and five negative behaviors per role, we had 60 opportunities to check the means of the Hispanic and Mainstream samples. Forty-five of these 60 fell into the simpatía pattern, a result, which by chi-square, could not occur by chance ($\chi^2=15$; $p<.001$). Furthermore, examination of the 15 cases that did not fall into the pattern showed that six of these involved the behavior disciplines. This behavior can be viewed either as negative, or as relevant to power distance. Previous work had shown that Hispanics are high in power distance and are more likely to see that there is a high probability that a person will discipline another (Triandis, Marín, Hui, Lisansky & Ottati, 1982). Thus the choice of disciplines as an example of negative behavior may not have been optimal. If we omit this behavior, then 45 out of 54 items fall into the simpatía pattern.

A factor analysis of the responses of the subjects to the role

differentials, was based on 342 observations for the Mainstream and 426 observations for the Hispanic samples. These Ns were obtained by multiplying the N for both Mainstream and Hispanic Ss who gave complete information, 57 and 71, respectively, by six (i.e. the number of roles). Each of the 15 x 15 matrices of intercorrelations was factored by the method of principal components, with multiple correlations squared as the communalities, and rotated to simple structure by varimax. The two cultural groups gave very similar factors. The first factor was Intimacy/Association. It had high loadings on tells personal problems to, loves, reveals intimate thoughts, plays games with, and treats as brother. The mean response of each sample to the six roles is presented in Figure 1. As can be seen, the samples gave very similar responses, but the Hispanics viewed roles as consistently more Intimate/Associative than the Mainstream sample. The main effect for ethnicity on this factor is significant [$F(1,746)=11.2, p<.001$]. The interaction of sex and ethnicity is also significant [$F(1,746)=8.4, p<.007$], indicating that male Hispanics are higher than the other samples on this factor.

The second factor was called Dissociation and included the behaviors fight with, argue with, threaten, and laugh at. Here the Hispanics were not significantly lower than the Mainstream as would have been anticipated from the simpatia script. However, the males of both samples were more likely to be high on this factor than were the females [$F(1,746)=5.7, p<.02$].

The third factor had two highly loading scales: gives orders to and disciplines. Again, there were no statistically significant differences between Hispanics and Mainstream. The fourth factor was subordination. It included ask for permission of and take orders from. Males of both samples were more likely than females to see subordination as likely in the six roles [$F(1,746)=4.5, p<.03$]. A significant sex by ethnicity interaction showed

the Hispanic females as least likely to see subordination occurring in the six roles [$F(1,746)=5.0, p<.03$].

Some individual scales showed significant differences between Hispanic and Mainstream students, which are also consistent with the simpatía script. Specifically, Brother is more likely to discipline Brother ($p<.005$), Father is more likely to reveal intimate thoughts to Son ($p<.006$), Father is more likely to treat Son as a brother ($p<.008$), Friend is more likely to discipline Friend ($p<.008$) and Workman is more likely to reveal intimate thoughts to ($p<.005$) and play games with ($p<.003$) Foreman, in the perceptions of the Hispanics than in the perceptions of the Mainstream.

An ANOVA which used the independent variables (a) role, (b) sex, and (c) ethnicity, revealed that Hispanics were more likely to see disciplines ($p<.006$), reveals intimate thoughts ($p<.01$), plays games with ($p<.002$) and treats as brother ($p<.002$) as occurring in all roles, than was the case with Mainstream students.

As Hispanics become more acculturated these tendencies become weaker. In other words, they become less collectivist. Acculturation was found to be correlated with a number of role judgments. The most important correlations were: Fathers revealing their intimate thoughts to their Sons (.46, $p<.000$), Brothers disciplining their Brothers (.37, $p<.000$), Friends disciplining their Friends (.35, $p<.000$), Fathers treating Sons as friends (.35, $p<.000$), Mothers revealing to Sons (.29, $p<.000$), Mother disciplining Son (.29, $p<.000$), Worker respecting Foreman (.25, $p<.001$), Friend loving Friend (.25, $p<.001$), and Worker revealing to Foreman (.25, $p<.001$). Several other correlations were significant at the .01 level or less: Mother-Son--gives orders, argues with, respects, works with, treats as brother; Brother-Brother: takes orders from; Father-Son: tells personal problems to, plays with, loves; Friend-Friend:

treats as brother; Foreman-Worker: argues with, respects; Worker-Foreman: tells personal problems to, disciplines, laughs at. In all these cases the more acculturated the Hispanic the less the perceived frequency of the behavior in that role. Note that almost all of these behaviors can be conceived as positive. The one exception is laughs at.

Hispanics are Allocentric

It has been argued above that Hispanics tend to be allocentric. The simpatía script is an aspect of this tendency. Additional evidence, supportive of this contention, was found in the El Paso data.

Specifically, one of the items asked:

1. "You have a choice of one of three jobs. Which job will you choose?" The jobs were described as "(a) This job produces results which you can use to express your own personality. (b) This job allows you to constantly develop new skills. (c) This job allows you to achieve goals that are valued by others." There was a significant ($p < .01$) tendency for the Mainstream students to select option (a) and for the Hispanics to select option (c).

2. On a similar item a job was described as "In this job work and social activities are all mixed up. People have most of their friends from among their fellow workers. Wages on that job are a bit lower than average for the community." This job option was selected more frequently by Hispanics than by Mainstream students ($p < .05$).

3. On a similar item a job was described as paying less than the average of the community, but several of "your friends and relatives are in the same company". There was a non-significant tendency for the Hispanic students to prefer this job more than the Mainstream students.

4. In describing the "ideal job", Hispanics gave greater importance to "have an opportunity for helping other people" than was the case with the Mainstream ($p < .04$).

Hispanic students did not agree with the statement "I try harder when I am in competition with other people" as much as did the Mainstream students ($p < .03$).

5. A job was described as requiring "several individuals to perform according to strict rules and regulations. Team accountability is emphasized." This job was rated between "good" and "O.K." by mainstream females and Hispanic males; it was rated as less desirable (between O.K. and poor) by mainstream males and Hispanic females. The interaction was significant ($p < .007$).

Power Distance

The recruit data suggested that Hispanics saw more power distance than did Mainstream recruits. The high school sample showed the same tendency.

1. The Hofstede item "high level people get involved in details of the job that should be left to lower level people" showed the Hispanics agreeing with the item more than the Mainstream ($p < .04$). The item was found to correlate with other power distance items in the study by Triandis, Hui, Lisansky, Ottati, Marín and Betancourt (1982).

2. One of the best Hofstede items was: "Employees lose respect for a supervisor who asks them for their advice before he makes a final decision." On this item Hispanics agreed more than the Mainstream students ($\chi^2 = 10.1$; $p < .04$). (An ANOVA gave $p < .001$)

3. Hofstede found that the item "Quite a few employees have an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if they can" correlated with other Power Distance items. The Hispanic students agreed with it more than the mainstream ($p < .03$).

4. Another good Hofstede item inquired about how frequently, "in your job, are subordinates afraid to express disagreement with their superiors".

Hispanics indicated that expressions of disagreement occurred seldom, while the Mainstream students thought they occurred sometimes ($p < .03$).

5. We have already mentioned that Hispanics are more likely to see disciplines as a probable behavior in roles.

External Control

While the recruit samples showed no differences on the internal-external control variable, the high school students showed a difference. Specifically, we limited our comparison to males only, and found that the Hispanic high school males had significantly more external scores than either the Mainstream students or the two recruit samples. Thus, an ANOVA gave a significant ($F=11.8$, $p < .001$) ethnicity by recruit-high school interaction. The scores of the four samples were as follows: Recruits: Hispanic 9.27; Mainstream 9.25. High school: Hispanics 6.65; Mainstream 9.09 (on this scale the high end is internal).

Perceived Prejudice

The Hispanic high school students see more prejudice than the Mainstream. They see a high frequency of "Some groups of employees look down on other groups of employees" in the organizations with which they are familiar. Mainstream students say this occurs only sometimes ($p < .006$).

Mastery and Work Orientation

The Hispanic samples are higher than the Mainstream students on two Mastery and one Work orientation items, from the Helmreich & Spence (1978) scale. Specifically, they are more likely than the Mainstream to agree with:

1. If I am not good at something I would rather keep struggling to master it than move on to something I may be good at ($p < .04$).
2. I like to be busy all the time ($p < .03$), and
3. I find satisfaction in exceeding my previous performance even if I don't outperform others ($p < .02$).

Results: Recruits vs. High School Students

Power Distance

Comparison of only the males, revealed that the recruits were higher in Power Distance than the high school sample. The Navy score was 2.3 and the high school score was .5, with $F=8.4$, $p<.004$. The Hispanics were higher in Power Distance than the Mainstream. The Hispanic mean was 2.5, the Mainstream 1.1 with $F=6.5$, $p<.01$. Mainstream female students showed the least power distance.

External Control

High school Hispanics, both male and female, were more external than Navy Hispanics. On 3 of the 4 items (with $p<.0004$, $p<.0002$ and $p<.0000$) that tapped this dimension the high school Hispanics were higher than the Navy Hispanics on the externality dimension.

Mastery and Work Orientation

The Hispanic recruits are higher than the Hispanic students on mastery and work orientation, as revealed by their responses to "there is satisfaction in a job well done" ($p<.0000$), as well as interpersonal competition ["I think that winning is important in both work and games" ($p<.0000$), "I find satisfaction in exceeding my previous performance" ($p<.0000$), "I try harder when in competition with other people" ($p<.0000$)]. On the other hand, all high school samples agreed more with "I like being busy all the time" ($p<.0000$) than did the Navy samples.

Miscellaneous

The Navy Hispanics considered it more important than the high school samples to have a job where one has an opportunity to serve one's country ($p<.001$), that has opportunities for variety and adventure ($p<.002$), and where team accountability is emphasized ($p<.001$). They also indicate that they are more

conservative than the high school samples ($p < .005$).

All Navy samples indicate that they are more humble than the high school students ($p < .0000$).

A number of significant differences are of little interest, since they reflect the difference in the status between being in the Navy and in high school. Thus, for example, the high school students perceived that Mother gives orders, fights with, disciplines, reveals intimate thoughts to, argues with, works with, and plays with her Son more than do the Navy samples. The Navy Hispanics see Brother fights with, disciplines, argues with, works with Brother less than do the high school samples. The high school samples see Father as more likely to give orders to, fight with, discipline, reveal intimate thoughts, and treat as brother his Son than do the Navy samples. The high school samples see Friend tells personal problems to, fights with, reveals thoughts, argues with, treats as brother, a Friend more often than do the Navy samples. The high school samples see more frequent occasions when a Foreman reveals, respects, plays games with a Worker, and a Worker tells personal problems, fights with, argues with, laughs at, and plays games with a Foreman, than do the Navy samples.

Results: Sex Differences

Most of the obtained sex differences were relatively minor, and seem to reflect sampling of the Hispanic female high school students, who are of slightly higher socio-economic level than the Hispanic males. They are not sufficiently important to deserve presentation.

Discussion

The high school data can be examined from three viewpoints: are males and females similar or different, are Hispanic and Mainstream students similar or different, and are students and recruits similar or different? The latter

comparison gives information concerning the generality of the previous findings and the Navy's selection of Hispanics.

The data indicate that males and females are largely similar in their responses to the particular items used in this study. The high school student data are largely consistent with the data obtained from the recruits. Specifically, we found further evidence that simpatía is a Hispanic cultural script, as discussed by Triandis, Marín and Lisansky (in press), there was much evidence that Hispanics are more allocentric than the Mainstream and Hispanics showed more Power Distance than the Mainstream.

Some differences between the two cultural groups were found in the student data which were not seen in the recruit data. Specifically, the high school Hispanics were more external than the Mainstream students, or any of the recruit samples, they saw more prejudice in their environment, and they displayed tendencies toward mastery of the environment and hard work which were stronger than the tendencies of the Mainstream students.

The comparisons of the students and the recruits showed that the recruits were higher in Power Distance than the students. The Hispanic students were more external than the Hispanic recruits. The Hispanic recruits were higher in Mastery and Work orientation than the students, and were more competitive than the Hispanic students. One might also note that the recruits are more conservative, more patriotic, and see themselves as more humble than is the case with the students.

The confirmation of the simpatía script is important. Apparently this phenomenon is robust, since it appears among Hispanics even when they are highly acculturated, though in somewhat weaker form. The Hispanic allocentric tendencies are also confirmed. The high Power Distance among Hispanics is again confirmed. Thus, we can summarize these findings by saying that we

feel much more secure in the claim that Hispanics are allocentric and have high Power Distance. The allocentric dimension is an aspect of the broader dimension of collectivism, and we are currently preparing broader measures of collectivism, so that we can investigate this syndrome more thoroughly. One of the Hofstede findings that has been replicated (M. Bond, personal communication, 1983) is that Collectivism and Power Distance are related. We found this too.

The potency of the affiliative strivings among Hispanics is also seen in the specific findings. For example, when the Hispanics emphasize more than the Mainstream that Brother disciplines Brother, Father reveals intimate thoughts to Son, and Workman reveals intimate thoughts to Foreman one senses a responsibility and care for the other, and an interdependency.

The comparison of the Hispanic recruits and students suggest that the recruits are more internal, higher in Mastery and Work orientation, and more competitive than the students. They are also more conservative, they say more strongly that they want to serve their country, are more adventurous, but also more humble, than the students. On the whole, then, the Navy appears to be selecting Hispanics who are atypical of Hispanics in general on internality, and achievement orientation (i.e. competitive emphasis of work and mastery). It would seem that the Navy is selecting those Hispanics who are more acculturated, i.e., with value structures and social attitudes more similar to those of mainstream culture. This is consistent with our comments in previous reports. By and large, our findings suggest that the Navy is selecting those Hispanics who are as similar as possible to the Mainstream. This may be the correct policy in terms of increasing the probability of adjustment of the Hispanic to the Navy environment, but it obviously makes it much more difficult to have the proportion of Hispanics in the Navy match the proportion of Hispanics in the general population.

An interesting feature of the data is that the Hispanic recruits are especially high in Mastery and Work orientations, exceeding the scores of the Hispanic students, who in turn are higher on these attributes than the Mainstream students. It would appear then that the Navy is selecting the "cream" of the Hispanics, i.e., those Hispanics who are more "go getting" than Mainstream students.

Some interesting issues for further research emerged from the present study. Is it necessary to limit selection to the "cream" or can one train a more "typical" Hispanic to perform well in the Navy? If one were to provide training, what form should it take? If the main difference between the recruits and the students is on externality, Mastery and Work orientation, can one increase a person's internality, mastery, and work orientation by reinforcing internal attributions, mastery and work orientation during a training program? What are the optimal ways of leading subordinates who are allocentric and high in power distance?

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